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GREEK AND ROMAN WEATHER LORE OF TWO DESTRUCTIVE AGENTS, HAIL AND DROUGHT

HAIL AN EXPRESSION OF THE DIVINE WILL

There were many circumstances under which storms were regarded as significant of the will of the gods. Thunder and lightning were generally considered ominous, but hail sometimes took equal rank as an object of fear, as we may see from a description of an encounter between the Carthaginians and the Romans at the siege of Capua, in 211 B. C.¹³¹:

... They were already engaged in skirmishing when an extraordinary storm, accompanied by an inconceivably strong wind, as well as thunder, hail, and lightning, broke from a clear sky, so that both sides were glad enough to retire, as if by mutual consent, to their original positions. They were just laying aside their arms when the sky became clear. Now although Hannibal concluded that this event, coming as it did precisely at the moment of conflict, had not occurred without divine ordering, yet he did not give up the siege, and even attempted again on a subsequent occasion to join battle.

When Hannibal was before Rome in the same year and was about to fight for the city as a prize, a heavy rain mingled with hail so confused both lines that they sought refuge in their camps. On the following day, after a similar storm had separated the combatants, the weather became wonderfully clear and calm¹³².

In the days of the prophets of the Old Testament a calamity was seized upon as an opportunity for a jeremiad calling the wrongdoers to repentance. A visitation of hail provided the Church Fathers with a similar opportunity.

In 373 the morale of the inhabitants of Nazianzus, who had experienced a number of misfortunes, was broken by a hailstorm which destroyed their mature crops¹³³. In despair they sought consolation from Gregory Nazianzenus the Elder. He was so overwhelmed by their sins that he could not speak, but his son (Gregory, surnamed Theologus) addressed them, although reluctantly. He asked them whether such blows and scourgings came haphazardly and by chance, or whether the universe was guided and controlled by reason and method¹³⁴. He represents God as saying that not even by sending hail among them and destroying their vines, fruits, and produce could he crush their wickedness¹³⁵.

¹³¹Zonaras 9.6. I give E. Cary's translation, in the version of Dio Cassius in The Loeb Classical Library; see 2.181.

¹³²Livy 26.11.2-4. For other examples of reading the divine will in the falling of hail, rain, and thunderbolts during military operations see Livy 40.58.3-4 and Dio Cassius 68.31.4.

¹³³Gregory Theologus, Oratio 16 (15) (Migne, P. G., 35.933-964).

¹³⁴Migne, P. G., 35.940.—For an interpretation of this address see De Grandinis Vastatione cum Pater Episcopus Reticeret, 5, which is to be found in Tyranni Rufini Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni Novem Interpretatio, pages 235-261 (see Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 46 [Vienna, Tempsky, and Leipzig, Freytag, 1910]).

¹³⁵Migne, P. G., 35.948.

He quotes ¹³⁶Proverbs 3.12, "For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth . . ."

It seems clear from one of the Moral Poems of Gregory Theologus ^{136b} that he had seen men resorting to prayers when their welfare was being jeopardized by hail. They explained to him that they had done nothing to merit such punishment. Cyprian¹³⁷ says that scanty rainfall and destructive hailstorms are due to the displeasure of the Deity at sin.

Agobard, De Grandine et Tonitruis ¹³⁸, searches out the vengeful passages in the Bible in which hail is said to have been used as a means of punishment¹³⁹. He quotes Ecclesiasticus 39.35 with evident approval: Ignis, grando, fames, et mors, omnia haec ad vindictam enata sunt.

CLOUD SHIPS FROM MAGONIA

Agobard¹⁴⁰ records a weather superstition which begins in the manner of a fairy story, but almost ends in the gruesome murder of four persons. There is, he says, a land called Magonia from which come amid clouds ships to carry home crops beaten off vines by hail or destroyed by other kinds of storms. The 'sailors of the air' (*nautae aerii*), who man these ships, are in league with weather-makers, whom they reward for their efforts. On one occasion three men and a woman had the misfortune to fall from a Magonian ship and to be captured and bound by an angry crowd. Only the timely arrival of Agobard, who after much persuasion finally made truth prevail, saved the prisoners from death by stoning.

This story, fascinating in itself, becomes doubly interesting when we find it effectively used in Ekkehard, A Tale of the Tenth Century, by the German writer, Joseph Viktor von Scheffel¹⁴¹. A weather wizard has been protecting a farmer's fields by praying the storms away from them¹⁴². In return for his services the farmer supplies him with grain from his farm, a method of payment which recalls the *canonicum*¹⁴³ mentioned by Agobard. But one day the farmer sees "the hailstones pelting on his fields and his young corn falling before the onslaught like soldiers in battle . . ." He is angry at the wizard for his failure to save the crops from the hag that brings the clouds. A serving-man thinks the devastation was not caused by a witch.

¹³⁶Migne, P. G., 35.956.

^{136a}Migne, P. G., 37.842.

¹³⁷Ad Demetrianum 7 (Migne, P. L., 4.568).

¹³⁸Migne, P. L., 104.147-158.

¹³⁹See, for example, Exodus 9.17-34; Joshua 10.11; Psalms 78.47-48; Hagai 2.17; Revelation 16.21.

¹⁴⁰De Grandine et Tonitruis 2 (Migne, P. L., 104.148).

¹⁴¹Chapter 18 (pages 254-256 of the translation, by Helena Easson, in Everyman's Library). This novel was first published in 1855. The translation was published in 1911.

¹⁴²Compare St. Augustine, In Psalmum 70.17 (Migne, P. L., 36.887): Quomodo ergo <me> revocas a negotiatione? An ut agricolam sim, et adversus Deum tonantem murmurum, ut grandinem timens sortilegium consulam. . . ? Sed non ea faciunt, inquis, agricolae boni.

¹⁴³See the text preceding the mark for note 176, below.

"Didst thou notice how that storm-cloud sailed over the dark heavy ones? What was it, thinkest thou? It was the Cloud-ship! Some one has sold our corn to the sailors who sail that ship."

The farmer crossed himself as if to prevent further speech, but the serving-man continued—

"My grandmother told me of it. She often heard people speak of it in Alsace when the thunder-storms came over the Odilienberg. The ship comes sailing from the land of Magonia; 'tis a white ship, and it sails over the black clouds, and Fasolt and Mermuth sit therein, and they throw the hailstones down and knock the grains of corn out of the ears, if the weather-wizard has given over his power to them. Then they gather up our corn into their air-ship and sail away home to Magonia and get well paid for it. To be friendly with them of the air-ship is a better way of working than to have masses said. We shall get nothing but husks this year."

The superstition recorded by Agobard seems to have left some traces in modern folklore. It is remarkable that a modern investigator¹⁴⁴ was told by an Italian woman that "all the clouds which we see are not clouds of air, but boats". I am quoting in full another story gathered by the same scholar¹⁴⁵:

People when they see clouds in air say it is *air* (vapour) and a sign of rain, but there is more in them than they suppose. For there is in the sky another world made by wizards and witches who, when they died, were not admitted to heaven, and so they made a world for themselves, which has a sea (lake) in it. And when the weather is dark, and clouds fly before the storm, those clouds are boats full of hail, and in them are wizards and witches, who throw the hail at one another, and so it falls to earth and does great harm. When this happens one should invoke the spirit of thunder (Tituno or Tignia).

The light, small clouds which pass along in sunlight in fine weather are small boats in which are girls and children whom the witches have taken and keep as prisoners. But sometimes when it is pleasant they send them out sailing in the air.

EFFORTS TO REPRESS STORM-MAKERS

The attitude of the law toward *tempestarii* (weather magicians) is interesting and illuminating. The Constitution of Constantine¹⁴⁶ provided for severe punishment of those who worked magic harmfully, but those who employed it in rural districts to protect grape harvests from rain and beating hailstorms were to be free from any imputation of guilt, since they were trying to preserve the gifts of heaven and the labors of men. The Interpretatio of the Code¹⁴⁷ specifies brewers of tempests as among those who are to be punished with every kind of penalty.

One of the Capitularies¹⁴⁸ of Charlemagne directs that *tempestarii* and other workers of evils be either corrected or condemned. The Church of his day took an equally strong stand¹⁴⁹:

De incantationibus, auguriis vel divinationibus et de his, qui tempestates vel alia maleficia faciunt, placuit sancto concilio, ut, ubicumque deprehensi fuerint,

¹⁴⁴C. G. Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, 215 (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1892).

¹⁴⁵*Ibidem*. Pages 211-217 are pertinent to this paper. For a remarkable story according to which persons in England saw an anchor suspended from a ship enveloped in mist or clouds see Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* 1.13.

¹⁴⁶16.3. See note 123, above. ¹⁴⁷*Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁸Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum, Volume 1, page 59, No. 789, § 65.

¹⁴⁹*Ibidem*, Legum Sectio III, Volume 2, Part 1, page 209.

videat archipresbiter diocesis illius, ut diligentissima examinatione constringantur, si forte confiteantur malorum, quae gesserunt. Sed sub tali moderatione fiat eadem districtio, ne vitam perdant, sed ut salventur in carcere, usque dum Deo inspirante spondeant emendationem peccatorum.

According to a commentator on Gregory the Great, the punishment for a sender of storms should be seven years of penance, three of them on bread and water¹⁵⁰. A Capitulary of Herard¹⁵¹, Archbishop of Tours (858), would subject such an offender to public penance. A decree of Burchard of Worms¹⁵² imposed upon a person who stirred up storms, or who believed that human beings could arouse them, penance on all regular festival days throughout a year. 'Penitentials' of Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and Roman origin generally imposed a seven years' penance on senders of storms¹⁵³.

If we may judge from the efforts of the law and the Church to suppress weather wizards, the wizards continued to be both numerous and troublesome¹⁵⁴. The cruelties practiced upon them during the Middle Ages seem to have been ineffective. The Malleus Maleficarum, published late in the fifteenth century, gives examples of the trial and the punishment of persons suspected of having caused hailstorms¹⁵⁵.

SENDERS OF HAIL

As were all the other elements, so was hail under the control of Zeus. He could both send and withhold it¹⁵⁶. As the god who could save vegetation from the menace of hail he was called Ζεὺς Χαλάσιος Σώζων¹⁵⁷.

Many human beings were supposed to be able to cause hail. The Telchines could bring clouds, rains, hailstorms, and even snow¹⁵⁸. There were also 'cloud-compellers' who resorted to enchantments to precipitate hail and boundless rain¹⁵⁹. Clement of Alexandria¹⁶⁰ records the belief of some persons that pestilences, hail, storms in general, and similar evils were due not to a material disturbance of the elements, but to the wrath of demons or angels who were ill-disposed.

In the sixth century the Church felt it necessary to combat the belief that lightning, thunder, and storms were created by the devil¹⁶¹.

Amid one celebration of the festival of St. Hildulphus (or Hildulphus) the *tempestatum ductor*, said to be the

¹⁵⁰Notae et Observationes in S. Gregorii Magni Librum Sacramentorum Auctore D. Hugone Menardo, Monacho Benedictino (Migne, P. L., 78.454).

¹⁵¹Capitula Herardi 3 (Migne, P. L., 121.764).

¹⁵²Decreta 19.5 (Migne, P. L., 140.961): Si credidisti aut particeps fuisti, unum annum per legitimas ferias poeniteas.

¹⁵³See G. L. Hamilton, Storm-Making Springs: Rings of Invisibility and Protection.—Studies on the Sources of the Yvain of Chrétien de Troies, *The Romanic Review* 5 (1914), 223.

¹⁵⁴See Hamilton, 218-224 (see note 153, above). Compare Duncange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, under Tempestarii, 6.527 (Paris, Didot, 1846).

¹⁵⁵144, 147-149, 188-191 (see note 20, above).

¹⁵⁶See, for example, Homer, *Iliad* 10.6; Euripides, *Troades* 78; Apollonius Rhodius 2.1083; Lucian, *Icaromenippus* 26.

¹⁵⁷See W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 4.1285, unter Sozon.

¹⁵⁸Diodorus 5.55.3.

¹⁵⁹Pseudo-Justinus, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* 31 (Migne, P. G., 6.1227).

¹⁶⁰Stromata 6.3.31 (Migne, P. G., 9.248).

¹⁶¹Si quis credit, quia aliquantas in mundo creaturas diabolus fecit et tonitrua et fulgura et tempestates et siccitates ipse diabolus sua auctoritate faciat, sicut Priscillianus dixit, anathema sit. The quotation may be found in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 9.775 (Florence, 1663). See the text connected with note 251, below.

devil, showered down so much hail that the sultry heat of fifteen days failed to melt it¹⁶².

During the Middle Ages very young girls who had been dedicated to the devil by their mothers were supposed to be able to raise up hailstorms¹⁶³.

In the duchy of Swabia a certain farmer went to his fields with his little daughter, hardly eight years old, to look at his crops, and began complaining about the drought, saying: Alas! when will it rain? The girl heard him, and in the simplicity of her heart said: Father, if you want it to rain, I can soon make it come. And her father said to her: What? Do you know how to make it rain? And the girl answered: I can make it rain, and I can make hailstorms and tempests too. And the father asked: Who taught you? And she answered: My mother did, but she told me not to tell anybody. Then the father asked: How did she teach you? And she answered: She sent to a master who will do anything I ask at any time. But her father said: Have you ever seen him? And she said: I have sometimes seen men coming in and out to my mother; and when I asked her who they were, she told me that they were our masters to whom she had given me, and that they were powerful and rich patrons. The father was terrified, and asked her if she could raise a hailstorm then. And the girl said: Yes, if I had a little water. Then he led the girl by the hand to a stream, and said: Do it, but only on our land. Then the girl put her hand in the water and stirred it in the name of her master, as her mother had taught her; and behold! the rain fell only on that land. Seeing this, the father said: Make it hail now, but only on one of our fields. And when the girl had done this, the father was convinced by the evidence, and accused his wife before the judge. And the wife was taken and convicted and burned; but the daughter was reconciled and solemnly dedicated to God, since which hour she could no more work these spells and charms.

In the Middle Ages witches were commonly accused of sending destructive hailstorms. They were formally, if unfairly and ignominiously, tried, and many of them suffered cruel deaths¹⁶⁴.

The activities of *tempestarii* are mentioned in several places in this paper¹⁶⁵. Such persons seem to have been very numerous throughout Southern Europe.

DISBELIEF IN WEATHER LORE OF HAIL

In almost all periods of classical antiquity there were at least a few voices crying out against popular ideas of magical and divine control of the weather¹⁶⁶. Both wit and humor were directed against them, but it remained for Seneca¹⁶⁷ to combine ridicule and sarcasm:

I cannot refrain from trotting out all the silly fancies of our Stoic friends. The assertion in question is that there are some people skilled in observing the clouds who foretell when a hail shower is coming on. They gather this just from experience by marking the colour of the clouds and noting which was on previous occasions followed by hail. It seems incredible that at

Cleonae there were hail-guards... appointed by the state to look out for the approach of hail. When they had given the signal that the hail was close at hand, what do you think? that people ran off to get their overcoats or cloaks? Nay, they each offered sacrifice as fast as they could, one a lamb, another a chicken. Forthwith, those clouds after getting a little taste of blood drew off in another direction. You smile! There is something to make you smile more broadly. If one had not a lamb or kid by, one laid hands upon oneself to an extent that could be done without serious damage. You must not think the clouds greedy or cruel; one merely pricked one's finger with a well-sharpened style and made atonement with this blood. The hail as invariably turned away from his little plot as from the estate of the man who prevailed upon it through the offering of greater victims.

Certain writers seek for a rational explanation of this practice. One school, adopting the only line that comports with philosophy, deny the possibility of making any bargain with hail and buying off storms by paltry presents, true, though it be, that gifts overcome even gods. Others affirm their suspicion that blood itself contains a virtue potent enough to avert and repel a cloud. But how, I ask, should a drop or two of blood possess a virtue to reach on high and influence the clouds? Is it not much easier to say, the whole thing is a parcel of lies?...

Clement of Alexandria¹⁶⁸ was scornful of persons who believed that hail and storms in general were due not to a disturbance of physical forces, but to the wrath of demons or wicked angels. He regarded as good examples of pagan folly the incantations and sacrifices made by the people of Cleonae, and also their drawing of blood from their fingers when an animal was not available for sacrifice.

The Alexandrian Eusebius¹⁶⁹ thought it foolish to claim that rains could be dispelled by incantations. If workers of magic could drive away clouds, why did they not do so when hail began to fall?

Pliny the Elder¹⁷⁰ knew some of the incantations against hail, but they taxed even his credulity, so that he refused to record them.

Aristophanes found in Athens an audience that could appreciate his gibes at popular superstitions concerning the weather¹⁷¹. He pretends that it is dangerous to disbelieve that clouds cause hailstorms¹⁷²:

But if any one amongst you dare to treat our claims with scorn,
Mortal he, the Clouds immortal, better had he ne'er been born!
He from his estates shall gather neither corn, nor oil, nor wine,
For whenever blossoms sparkle on the olive or the vine
They shall all at once be blighted; we will ply our slings so true.
And if ever we behold him building up his mansions new,
With our tight and nipping hailstones we will all his tiles destroy.

¹⁶²See The Gentleman's Magazine 96 (1826), Part I, 419-420, where an interesting story about St. Hidulphus is told in great detail. Protracted search has not enabled me to find the original source of the story. It does not occur in the 'Lives' of St. Hidulphus in the Acta Sanctorum, 3.211-226.

¹⁶³Malleus Maleficarum 144 (see note 20, above).

¹⁶⁴See the text connected with note 155, above.

¹⁶⁵See, for example, the text connected with notes 140, 148, 150-153, above.

¹⁶⁶For examples in my previous papers see C. W. 25.216 C-D, 27.28 B-C.

¹⁶⁷Naturales Quaestiones 4.6.1-7.1. I give the translation by John Clarke, Physical Science in the Time of Nero, 181-182 (London, Macmillan, 1910). An important passage in this connection is to be found in Sir James G. Frazer, The Worship of Nature, 1.45-46 (New York, Macmillan, 1926).

¹⁶⁸Stromata 6.3.31 (Migne, P. G., 9.248).

¹⁶⁹Sermones 22.3 (Migne, P. G., 86.456). See also Pseudo-Justinus, Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos 31 (Migne, P. G., 6.1277).

¹⁷⁰7.267, 28.29. See note 95, above.

¹⁷¹See the Clouds, especially 1115-1130.

¹⁷²Clouds 1121-1127. The translation is by B. B. Rogers, The Comedies of Aristophanes (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1916). <Rogers's translation of all the plays of Aristophanes may now be found in The Loeb Classical Library (three volumes, all published in 1924). C. K.>

¹⁷³Icaromenippus 25-26.

Lucian¹⁷³ too pokes fun at age-old beliefs when he represents Zeus as sorting out the weather^{173a}, and as ordering a thousand bushels of hail to be distributed over Cappadocia.

In my eyes the most interesting crusader against popular meteorology was Agobard, who wrote in the ninth century a work called *De Grandine et Tonitruis*¹⁷⁴. He observed the ways of persons in and near Lyons, where almost everyone, of high position or low, townsman or countryman, old or young, thought that hailstorms and thunder were subject to the will of man. When persons in this region heard thunder and saw lightning, they would remark, *Aura levatitia est*, but, when they were pressed for the meaning of the words *aura levatitia*, some with a little reserve and others with the confidence of ignorant men would declare that the air was *levata* by the incantations of weather-makers and hence was called *levatitia aura* (...confirmant incantationibus hominum qui dicuntur Tempestarii esse levatam, et ideo dici levatitiam auram)¹⁷⁵.

Agobard felt outraged at the claims of charlatans that they shared with God the control of the weather. They asserted that they were able not only to send storms, but also to protect the inhabitants of an area from bad weather. For their services they got a certain proportion of the crops, which was called *canonicum*. Many peasants who refused to give tithes and to help widows and orphans and other persons in need gladly paid this tribute for protection of their fields from storms¹⁷⁶.

I have given Agobard's story of the ships from Magonia¹⁷⁷. He pilloried believers in this tale as *dementia obruti* and *stultitia alienati*. He himself, however, found the greatest disproof of pagan ideas in the passages of the Old Testament which represent Jehovah or God as exercising control over the weather.

In a sermon delivered in 963, Ratherius of Verona, who had probably read Agobard, likewise regarded popular beliefs as wrong because they conflicted with the words of the Bible¹⁷⁸:

Intendat charitas vestra: Contra enim eos qui dicunt, quod homo malus, vel diabolus tempestatem faciat, lapides grandinum spargat, vineta atque campos devastet, fulgura mittat, iumenta et pecora, ipsosque homines interficiat; contra illos, inquam, valet quod dicit: *Ego occidam et vivere faciam*. Contra illos vero qui dicunt, quod ipsi per incantationes suas ipsas tempestates avertant, valet quod dicit: *Non est qui de manu mea possit eruere*.

In the tenth century Cassianus Bassus, who made a collection of ancient magical practices in regard to hail¹⁷⁹, considers some of them inept and advises against resorting to them¹⁸⁰. He seems to be more interested in not leaving any gaps in the records of antiquity than in saving fields from hail.

^{173a}In using the expression "sorting out the weather" I was thinking of some verses of James Whitcomb Riley, in *Wet-Weather Talk*: "It hain't no use to grumble or complain; It's just as cheap and easy to rejoice.—When God sorts out the weather and sends rain, W'y, rain's my choice". See *The Complete Works of James Whitcomb Riley*, Collected and Edited by E. H. Eitel, 3.94 (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1913).

¹⁷⁴This work is readily accessible in Migne, P. L., 104.147-158.

¹⁷⁵(Migne, P. L., 104.147).

¹⁷⁶14-15 (Migne, P. L., 104.156-157).

¹⁷⁷See the text connected with note 140, above.

¹⁷⁸Sermo VIII.4, De Ascensione Domini (Migne, P. L., 136.739).

¹⁷⁹*Geoponica* 1.14. ¹⁸⁰*Geoponica* 1.14.11.

It is fitting to close this section of my paper by allowing Cicero¹⁸¹ to speak in his own tongue:

At enim minora di neglegunt neque agellos singulorum nec viticulas persequuntur, nec, si uredo aut grandio quippiam nocuit, id Iovi animadvertendum fuit: ne in regnis quidem reges omnia minima curant....

MODERN REFERENCES

Publications devoted exclusively to weather lore are comparatively rare. I know of none more fascinating than a booklet by G. Bellucci, *La Grandine nell' Umbria*¹⁸². Its author made a systematic and persistent effort to learn the popular beliefs and practices in regard to hail in a limited vine-growing area of Italy, but there can be no doubt that his findings are representative of ideas prevalent in much of Southern Europe. The spirit of antiquity survives among Italian peasants, who seem, however, to use amulets a little more frequently than the ancients did. Explosives give contemporary Europeans a great advantage over the ancients in noise-making devices¹⁸³ to be used in connection with hail and storms.

Scores of references to superstitions about hail are given in *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, under the words Hagel, Hagelzauber¹⁸⁴.

Interesting information about hail has been gathered by C. F. Talman, in *The Realm of the Air: A Book about Weather*, Chapter VII, Hail and the Damage It Does (75-82)¹⁸⁵.

(To be continued)

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ON CERTAIN EPITAPHS, ROMAN AND AMERICAN

When Verginius Rufus died in 97 A. D., he was honored with a state funeral at which the eulogy was delivered by the consul Cornelius Tacitus, *laudator eloquentissimus*, as Pliny the Younger wrote to his friend Romanus (*Epistulae* 2. 1.6). The letter itself is a eulogy of Verginius Rufus, Pliny's old friend and guardian. Verginius left instructions for his tomb and his epitaph (6.10. 2-4). Ten years later, however, to Pliny's deep distress the tomb was still unfinished *inertia eius cui cura mandata est* (6.10.2). Pliny discovered this when he visited a villa at Alsium that then belonged to his mother-in-law Pompeia Celerina, but had once belonged to Verginius and had been a favorite retreat of his old age (6.10.1). Pliny wrote of this visit to his friend Albinus (6.10), and quoted the epitaph that Verginius had chosen (4):

Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium adseruit non sibi, sed patriae.

¹⁸¹*De Natura Deorum* 3.86.

¹⁸²See note 1, above. For some French superstitions about hail see P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, 1.109-112 (Paris, E. Guilmoto, 1904).

¹⁸³I have only one example of the ancient use of noise against hail (see the text connected with note 110, above), but noise was frequently employed against thunder and eclipses (see C. W. 25. 207 C).

¹⁸⁴Edited by Eduard Hoffman-Krayer (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1927-).

¹⁸⁵See note 30, above.

No doubt Verginius wrote his own epitaph, for Pliny tells us (5.3.5) that Verginius wrote verses.

At a later date one Cremutius Ruso, a younger friend (6.23), wrote to Pliny criticising this epitaph (9.19.1). Probably he had read the epitaph on the publication of the letter to Albinus quoted above (6.10), for Pliny begins his answer (9.19) with the statement, *Significas legisse te in quadam epistula mea iussisse Verginium Rufum inscribi sepulcro suo*. . . . He quotes the epitaph again and goes on with Ruso's criticism, saying, *Reprehendis, quod iusserit, addis etiam melius rectiusque Frontinum <fecisse>, quod vetuerit omnino monumentum sibi fieri, meque ad extremum quid de utroque sentiam consulis*. He then discusses the whole matter carefully throughout the letter.

In a recent essay by H. G. Dwight, entitled *Jeffersonian Simplicity*, in Harper's Monthly Magazine, for June, 1934 (169. 91-100), a critic of Jefferson is represented as saying at one point (98):

"...And he did write his own epitaph: 'Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and the father of the University of Virginia.'"

"What's the matter with that?" I objected. "Isn't it true? He might have added a whole string of stuff. . . ."

"It's a matter of taste, I suppose. I prefer that of a friend of his, who let them cut on his stone nothing but 'Benjamin and Deborah Franklin' . . ."

The discussion at once reminds one of Ruso's criticism and Pliny's reply. Perhaps admirers of both Jefferson and Franklin may say, as Pliny does in conclusion (8), *Meo quidem iudicio neuter culpandus, quorum uterque ad gloriam pari cupiditate, diverso itinere contendit, alter dum expetit debitos titulos, alter dum mavult videri contempsisse*.

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BEN JONSON AND MARTIAL

Martial (9.11, 12, 13, 16) plays on the name of Domitian's *praegustator*, the eunuch Flavius Earinus, whose name Earinus, on account of the succession of short syllables, is metrically unsuited to his verse. Through the four epigrams Martial rings the changes on the derivation and the meaning of the name (*ἐαρινός, ἐάρ, 'Spring'*). Ben Jonson, in his play *The Sad Shepherd*, gives the name Earine to the lost nymph, and evidently had these epigrams of Martial in mind as he played upon the meaning of the name, in Act 1, Scene 1 (I quote from the Everyman's Library edition of Ben Jonson's Plays, Volume 2 [New York, Dutton: undated]).

Earine,

Who had her very being, and her name,
With the first knots and buddings of the spring,
Born with the primrose, or the violet,
Or earliest roses blown: when Cupid smiled;
And Venus led the Graces out to dance,
And all the flowers and sweets in nature's lap
Leap'd out, and made their solemn conjuration
To last but while she lived!

The phrasing of the third verse recalls quite definitely the first verse of Martial 9. 11: *Nomen cum violis rosisque natum*. . . . In the rest of the passage the spirit

is that of the epigrams, even though the details are different.

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CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

II

Revue Historique—January-February, Alexandre le Grand d'après Ulrich Wilcken, Georges Radet [this article contains some unfavorable criticism of Wilcken's work <the English translation of this work was reviewed, by Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.191-192. C. K.>]; Review, favorable, by A. Merlin, of David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part VII: The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus Found in 1931*; Review, generally favorable, by E. Albertini, of Eugénie Strong, *Rome Antique*; Review, favorable, by E. Albertini, of Edmund Groag and Arthur Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculorum I, II, III: Editio Altera, Pars I*; Review, favorable, by J. Toutain, of A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*; Review, generally unfavorable, by J. Toutain, of W. E. Heitland, *Last Words on the Roman Municipalities*; Review, favorable, by J. Toutain, of E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*; Review, favorable, by J. Toutain, of Vasile Parvan, *Dacia: An Outline of the Early Civilizations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries*; Review, generally unfavorable, by Marc Bloch, of E. Habel and F. Gröbel, *Mittelateinisches Glossar*; Review, favorable, by A. Grenier, of J. Holland Rose, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*; Review, very favorable, by E. Albertini, of Michele Rostovzev, *Storia Economica e Sociale dell' Impero Romano* (translated by M. Sanna); Brief review, favorable, by E. A. Albertini, of F. F. D'Alton, *Roman Literary Theory and Criticism: A Study in Tendencies* <for a review, by Professor J. Wight Duff, of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.109-111. C. K.>; Chronique: Camille Jullian (1859-1933), Albert Grenier; March-April, Brief review, uncritical, unsigned, of *Memoires de l'Institut National de France, Tome XLIII, Partie I*; Brief review, unfavorable, by A. Blanchet, of Pierre-Fr. Fournier, *Les Ouvrages de Pierre Sèche des Cultivateurs d'Auvergne et le Prétendue Découverte d'une Ville aux Côtes de Clermont* [this book suggests a new site for Caesar's Gergovia]; Brief review, generally favorable, by E. Albertini, of *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume IX*; Brief review, generally favorable, by E. A. Albertini, of Maurice Rat, *La Guerre Civile et la Guerre d'Alexandrie: Edition et Traduction*; Brief review, generally unfavorable, by E. A. Albertini, of Giovanni Vidari, *Le Civiltà d'Italia nel loro Sviluppo Storico, I: Le Civiltà Organizzatrici*; Review, favorable, by J. Toutain, of Friedrich Cornelius, *Cannae: Das Militärische und das Literarische Problem*; Brief review, mildly favorable, by J. Toutain, of John Buchan, *Julius Caesar*; Brief review, generally unfavorable, by J. Toutain, of Corrado Barbagallo,

- Il "Secolo d'Oro" dell' Impero Romano; Brief review, uncritical, by J. Toutain, of B. L. Ullman, *Classical Authors in Mediaeval Florilegia*.
- The Romanic Review—January-March, A Renaissance Translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* Reveals a Forgotten Sonnet by Thomas Sebillet, Albert D. Menut.
- The School Review—April, Review, favorable, by M. E. Hutchinson, of (1) Marjorie J. Fay, *Carolus et Maria*, (2) Mima Maxey, *Cornelia*, and (3) Mima Maxey and Marjorie J. Fay, *A New Latin Primer*; June, Review, favorable, by M. E. Hutchinson, of Mary T. Brennan, Helen J. Loane, and Margaret T. Englar, *Exploring Latin*.
- The Saturday Review of Literature—April 14, The Clearing House, Amy Loveman [this contains suggested readings in "Ancient History" and "Ancient History in Fiction Form"]; April 21, Brief review, generally favorable, by F. J. M., of Sir Charles Holmes, *Raphael and the Modern Use of the Classical Tradition*; May 26, Review, generally favorable, by Campbell Bonner, of A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*; June 9, Review, generally unfavorable, by Elmer Davis, of Robert Graves, *I, Claudius*; June 30, Brief review, favorable, by J. I. B. McC., of Cecil F. Lavell, *A Biography of the Greek People*.
- School and Society—May 5, Review, favorable, by William McAndrew, of George H. Palmer (translator), *The Odyssey of Homer* (illustrated by Newell C. Wyeth); June 2, Brief review, favorable, by William McAndrew, of Albert <sic>: correct to Robert > J. Bonner, *Aspects of Athenian Democracy*.
- "Scientia"—February, Review, favorable, by A. Castiglioni, of M. Bertolotti, *La Critica Medica nella Storia: Alessandro Magno*; March, *Zur Entstehung des Wissenschaftlichen Begriffes in der Griechischen Philosophie*, J. Stenzel; *Le Milieu Géographique dans l'Histoire de la Grèce*, Jules Sion; Review, favorable, by A. Visconti, of A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin* (translated, from the Russian, by P. Brodin); April, Review, generally favorable, by O. Carusi, of A. Rey, *La Jeunesse de la Science Grecque*.
- The Scientific Monthly—June, *Ancient Fish Admirers*, S. W. Frost [this article, accompanied by ten illustrations, discusses briefly "the fish motif" as found in the art of various ancient peoples, including the Egyptians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Cretans, Greeks, and Romans].
- The Times Literary Supplement (London)—March 15, Review, generally favorable, of J. H. Breasted, *The Oriental Institute* (University of Chicago Survey, Volume XII); Brief review, qualifiedly favorable, of Gregorovius: *Werke in Einem Bande: 2000 Jahre Weltgeschichte*; Brief review, unfavorable, of W. H. Boulton, *Greece and Rome* (The Ancient Lands and Bible Series, No. 6); Brief review, favorable, of C. E. Robinson, *Everyday Life in Ancient Greece*; March 22, Review, favorable, of W. H. D. Rouse, *The Latin Struwwelpeter*; April 5, Review, qualifiedly favorable, of J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*; Review, unfavorable, of Wallace K. Ferguson, *Erasmii Opuscula*, Edited with Introduction and Notes; Plato's *Laws*, A. E. Taylor [a brief letter correcting a printed error in the writer's recent book on Plato's *Laws*]; Brief review, unfavorable, of Brookes More (translator), *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Books I, II, III, IV, V) in English Blank Verse, and, mildly favorable, of Wilmon Brewer, *Ovid's Metamorphoses in European Culture* (Books, I, II, III, IV, V); Review, generally favorable, of Lionel Curtis, *Civitas Dei*; Review, generally favorable, of W. MacNeile Dixon, *In Arcadia* [a collection of verse]; Brief review, unfavorable, of Joseph E. Harry, *Greek Tragedy: Emendations, Interpretations, and Critical Notes, Volume I: Aeschylus and Sophocles*; Brief review, qualifiedly favorable, of The Earl of Longford and Christine Longford, *The Oresteia of Aischylos*, Translated into English Verse; April 19, Review, generally favorable, of E. M. Forster, *Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson*; Brief review, unfavorable, of Burton Rascoe, *Prometheans: Ancient and Modern*; Brief review, generally unfavorable, of Sidney Dark, *The World's Great Sermons, Selected, with an Introduction*; April 26, Review, generally unfavorable, of Christian Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce, des Temps Préhistoriques au Debut du XVIII^e Siècle*; Review, favorable, of J. C. Stobart, *The Divine Spark* [a posthumous collection of essays and addresses]; Review, generally favorable, of F. J. Hollis, *The Archaeology of Herod's Temple, With a Commentary on the Tractate "Mid-dôth"*; Brief review, generally favorable, of Campbell Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Similitudes 2.9), With a Fragment of the Mandates; May 3, Review, favorable, of F. Brittain, *Latin in Church* [concerning the pronunciation of Latin]; Review, generally favorable, of John Clarke, *The Roman Fort at Cadder*, and, favorable, of Philip Corder, *Excavations at the Roman Fort at Brough-on-Humber*; Review, favorable, of E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century, Part I: The Vatican City*; May 10, Review, favorable, of Humphrey Trevelyan, *The Popular Background to Goethe's Hellenism*; Review, favorable, of Robert Graves, *I, Claudius*; May 17, Review, qualifiedly favorable, of G. P. Baker, *Twelve Centuries of Rome*; Brief Review, favorable, of R. Martin Pope, *Claudian: The Rape of Proserpine, in English Verse*; May 31, Review, favorable, of J. D. Duff, *Silius Italicus: Punica, With an English Translation* (in The Loeb Classical Library, two volumes); June 7, Review, mildly favorable, of F. A. Wright, *Alexander the Great*.
- Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur—February, *Invitatio Amicae*, Wolfram von den Steinen [a discussion of the medieval love poem beginning *Iam dulcis amica venito*]; Review, favorable, by M. H. Jellinek, of Allan L. Rice, *Gothic Prepositional Compounds in their Relation to their Greek Originals*.

III

The American Economic Review—March, Review, favorable, by A. E. R. Boak, of Tenney Frank, Rome and Italy of the Republic [this is the first volume of the series entitled *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*].

The American Historical Review—January, Review, generally favorable, by Allen B. West, of D. M. Robinson and others, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part V, Mosaics, Vases, and Lamps, and Part VI, Coins; Review, favorable, by A. D. Fraser, of W. J. Woodhouse, *King Agis of Sparta and his Campaign in Arkadia in 418 B. C.*; Review, unfavorable, by George M. Calhoun, of Joseph Laurent, *Essais d'histoire sociale*, I, *La Grèce antique*; Review, favorable, by J. Penrose Harland, of Hazel D. Hansen, *Early Civilization in Thessaly*; Review, qualifiedly favorable, by Walter Woodburn Hyde, of J. Holland Rose, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*; Review, uncritical, by Harold N. Fowler, of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season of Work, October, 1930–March, 1931*, Edited by P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, and Alfred R. Bellinger; Brief review, mildly favorable, by Robert P. Blake, of Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*; April, Review, favorable, by George A. Barton, of James Henry Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*; Short notice, favorable, by Jakob A. O. Larsen, of *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Volume VIII, Part I, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896–1927*, Edited by Benjamin Dean Meritt; Short notice, favorable, by George Grant MacCurdy, of K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell, *Paleolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Nubia and Upper Egypt: A Study of the Region During Pliocene and Pleistocene Times*; Short notice, very favorable, by A. D. Fraser, of H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers, From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*; Short notice, generally favorable, by W. S. Ferguson, of W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*; Short notice, uncritical, by J. E. Pomfret, of Gustav Schnürer, *Die Anfänge der Abendländischen Völkergemeinschaft*.

The American Journal of Semitic Languages—April, The Oriental Institute: *Archaeological Report on the Near East*, Prepared with the Cooperation of Professor James H. Breasted [“Beginning with this number, we expect to devote from ten to twenty pages at the end of each issue to what may be fairly called a quarterly report on archaeology in the Near East”. The report contains items of interest to classical scholars].

American Literature—March, Poe's Knowledge of Latin, Emma Katherine Norman [“I find that Poe quotes from no less than twenty-three Latin writers. He refers to four others. He reviewed at one time or another texts of the works of Sallust and Ovid, and several of his criticisms show his acquaintance with Latin Grammars”].

The American Political Science Review—June, A

Latter-Day Tyranny in the Light of Aristotelian Prognosis, Charles Lawton Sherman.

The American Spectator—May, Words of Caesar, Branch Cabell [this is a clever article].

Anglican Theological Review—January, A Unique Source for the Study of Ancient Pseudonymity, Alfred E. Haefner [this article includes a translation of Salvian's ninth letter, which is the source the author had in mind]; Notice, favorable, by B. S. E., of *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, Edited by A. Merk; Notice, very favorable, by S. E. J., of W. Hersey Davis, *Greek Papyri of the First Century*.

Annales de l'Université de Paris—Mars-Avril, Émile Chatelain, Charles Beaulieux [this is an obituary of Émile Chatelain, who died November 26, 1933].

Bibliotheca Sacra—January, Should New Testament Greek be Required in our Ministerial Training Courses?, Henry Clarence Thiessen [“We have seen that the objections to requiring New Testament Greek for graduation are not well taken; that the reasons for the present tendency to make the subject an elective are not in harmony with the highest scholastic and spiritual ideals; and that the results of the exposition of the Scriptures on the basis of the original are most practical and far-reaching. In view of these facts the writer could wish that all the evangelical theological seminaries would continue New Testament Greek as a required subject in their curriculum!”]; The Laws of Plato Compared with the Laws of Moses <, Parts I and II >, Perry Wayland Sinks; Review, favorable, by E. F. Harrison, of Melvin Grove Kyle, *Kirjath-Sepher or Booktown*; Review, favorable, by Henry C. Thiessen, of W. Hersey Davis, *Greek Papyri of the First Century*; April, Some Recent Archaeological Discoveries, James L. Kelso [“The outstanding contribution of archaeology to New Testament study is the Chester Beatty Papyri. These manuscripts, found some two years ago, are now being edited and published”]; The Laws of Plato Compared with the Laws of Moses <, Parts III and IV >, Perry Wayland Sinks [“... we are justified in holding that it was not only possible, but highly probable, even a moral certainty that the remarkable correspondence of Plato to Moses, is due in no small measure to knowledge obtained in some way, by the Philosopher of Athens, from the Hebrew Lawgiver”].

The Bodleian Quarterly Record—4th Quarter, 1933, Review, uncritical, by F. M., of *The Romance of Alexander*, a collotype facsimile of MS. Bodley 264, with an Introduction by M. R. James.

Bulletin of The John Rylands Library—January, Notes and News, unsigned [included under this title are the following items: Robert Seymour Conway (this is an obituary notice); The Codex Sinaiticus: The John Rylands Appeal (the appeal was in the behalf of the British Museum's effort to raise the sum of fifty thousand pounds, which is one-half the cost of the Codex Sinaiticus. This note also describes briefly “four of the principal manuscripts ... upon which the text of the Bible is based”); Building Methods in Sumer about 2300 B. C.; Rylands Zenon

Papyri]; A New Group of Zenon Papyri, C. C. Edgar [eighteen new Zenon Papyri are published]; Aspects of Sumerian Civilisation as Evidenced on Tablets in the John Rylands Library, T. Fish.

The Burlington Magazine—January, Review, generally favorable, by A. J. B. W., of K. A. Neugebauer, Katalog der Statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium, Band I, Die Minoischen und Archaisch-Griechischen Bronzen; April, Review, unfavorable, by J. N. Summerson, of J. Arnott Hamilton, Byzantine Architecture and Decoration; Review, favorable, by H. R., of Christian Zervos, L'Art en Grèce; Review, favorable, by H. R., of Walter Hege and Gerhart Rodenwaldt, The Acropolis; Review, generally favorable, by B. Ashmole, of R. P. Hinks, Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Mosaics in the British Museum; May, Review, favorable, by Egerton Beck, of The Romance of Alexander, A Collotype Facsimile of MS. Bodley 264, With an Introduction by M. R. James; Review, favorable, by W. L., of Bilder Griechischer Vasen, Volume VI, Der Kleophradesmaler, by J. D. Beazley, and Volume VII, Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei, by H. G. G. Payne; Review, favorable, by G. F. H., of Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Volume II, Parts I and II; June, Review, favorable, by D. Talbot Rice, of H. P. L'Orange, Studien zur Geschichte des Spätantiken Porträts; Review, generally unfavorable, by J. G. M., of A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks from circ. 700 B. C. to A. D. 270, Based on the Work of Barclay V. Head; Review, favorable, by A. F. K., of Lillian M. Wilson, Ancient Textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection.

The Catholic Historical Review—April, Review, favorable, by Alfred Kaufmann, of Helmut Berve, Griechische Geschichte, Zweite Hälfte, Von Perikles bis zur Politischen Auflösung.

The Chicago Theological Seminary Register—January, Short review, mildly favorable, by Benjamin W. Robinson, of The Four Gospels (A New Translation), by Charles C. Torrey; March, Short review, favorable, by Benjamin W. Robinson, of W. Hersey Davis, Greek Papyri of the First Century.

The Commonweal—January 26, The Church of the Mosaics, Donald Attwater [this deals with the mosaics of St. Sophia]; March, 9, Latin and Culture, Joseph Clifford Fenton ["The teaching of Latin literature in its completeness would be desirable in any school, but a growing consciousness of Catholic culture makes it increasingly imperative in our own. The great task of Catholic education at present is to bring about an increasing awareness of Catholic cultural tradition. Latin literature and Latin culture are ours. . . ."]; May 4, The Church of the Codex, Donald Attwater [this article gives a very brief history of the Church of Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine].

The Connoisseur—January, Western Asiatic Art at Yale, unsigned [this is a note]; March, Short review, very favorable, by T. L., of Ernest A. Gardner, Poet and Artist in Greece; June, Review, favorable, by

K. P., of Chester H. Jones, Ancient Architecture, Prehistoric, Egyptian, Western Asian, Greek and Roman: A Commentary in Verse Written and Devised by Chester H. Jones, With Illustrations and Decorations by the Author.

The Contemporary Review—March, Review, favorable, by J. E. G. deM., of The Iliad of Homer Rendered in English Hexameters, by Alexander Falconer Murison, Volume I, Books 1-12; April, Short review, uncritical, by J. E. G. deM., of F. W. Walbank, Aratos of Sicily.

Economic History—January, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, A. Andréadès.

The Economic History Review—April, Review, favorable, by H. Loewe, of J. Newman, The Agricultural Life of the Jews in Babylonia Between the Years 200 C. E. and 500 C. E.

Education—June [Classical Language Number: B. L. Ullman was special editor of this number]; Mary and the Superintendent, B. L. Ullman; A Roman Background for American Citizenship, Dorothy M. Roehm; The Future of the Past, A. D. Winspear; Emergency Unemployment in Classical Studies: An Account of the Cartographic Study of New York University, Casper J. Kraemer, Jr.; Recent Trends in the Teaching of Secondary Latin, Helen M. Eddy; Latin in the College, Dean P. Lockwood; Our Debt to Rome, W. L. Carr; Go to the Hilltops, Laura B. Woodruff; Devices for Secondary Latin, Lillian B. Lawler; Four Years' Progress with an Advanced Latin Section, John Flagg Gummere; The Pupil Applies his Latin to America's Present-Day Problems, Adda G. Newson; Emerson's Attitude Toward the Classics, Grace F. Shepard; Review, favorable, by Evan T. Sage, of William Chase Greene, The Achievement of Rome, A Chapter in Civilization; Review, favorable, by Jakob A. O. Larsen, of Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Out of the Past of Greece and Rome; Review, favorable, by Evan T. Sage, of Karl P. Harrington and Kenneth Scott, Selections from Latin Prose and Poetry; Review, favorable, by Willis A. Ellis, of Picturesque Word Origins, published by G. and C. Merriam Co. [no author is named]; Review, favorable, by Louis E. Lord, of C. E. Robinson, Everyday Life in Ancient Greece; Review, favorable, by Louis E. Lord, of Marjorie Quennell and C. H. B. Quennell, Classical Greece; Review, favorable, by Calla A. Guyles, of B. L. Ullman and A. W. Smalley, New Progress Tests in Latin.

The Educational Record—April, Placement and Attainment Examinations in Foreign Languages, Frederic D. Cheydeur.

The English Historical Review—January, Review, qualifiedly favorable, by R. M. Dawkins, of Steven Runciman, Byzantine Civilization; Short notice, favorable, by D. C. M., of A. E. Taylor, Socrates; Short notice, favorable, by D. C. M., of B. D. Meritt, Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century.

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